

*REC-1*  
**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

Date: MAY 1 1965

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

**AIRTEL****REGISTERED MAIL**

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

*SOLO*  
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Briefing by Pyotr N. Demichev, Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Prior to March 1, 1965, Consultative Meeting of Nineteen Communist Parties in Moscow."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 28/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago

RWH:MDW

(5)

ST-108

18 MAY 4 1965

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 65 MAY 10 1965  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten:* 134-46 Sub B  
 5/1/65  
 100-428091-4741

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was received at a meeting held during the latter part of the week of 2/21/65 in Moscow, USSR, with PYOTR N. DEMICHEV, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union. The meeting had been called for the purpose of briefing the CP, USA delegation of "observers" to the 3/1/65 consultative meeting of 19 CPs scheduled for Moscow. Those present in addition to the source from the CP, USA were GILBERT GREEN, JAMES JACKSON, and HYMAN LUMER. At the request of GREEN and JACKSON, the CP, USA delegation was listed as "observers" in order to avoid possible legal repercussions against their Party.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.

NYA-3 15 31 AM '65

DOMINICAN DIA  
HFCB

- 2 -



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

MAY 1 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

BRIEFING BY PYOTR N. DEMICHEV, SECRETARY, Russia  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE  
SOVIET UNION, PRIOR TO MARCH 1, 1965,  
CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF NINETEEN COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN MOSCOW

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

During the last week of February, 1965, Pyotr N. Demichev, a Secretary of the Central Committee and Head of the Ideological Department, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), met with and briefed certain delegates scheduled to attend the March 1, 1965, consultative meeting of nineteen CPs which was scheduled to be held in Moscow, USSR, on the subjects of differences within the international communist movement and the calling of a world conference of all CPs. The essence of Demichev's remarks at this time was as follows:

The approach to the March 1, 1965, conference, as originally noted in the draft document for the meeting, has been changed. There has been consultation with a number of Parties and all agree that it is not the correct time for the calling of a conference of all Communist and Workers Parties.

Of course, in deciding upon this new approach, the Chinese comrades' point of view could not and has not been ignored. But the main reason for the change in the character or nature of the pending conference is to try and develop more cohesion and unity in the international movement.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-428091-4741  
ENCLOSURE

BRIEFING BY PYOTR N. DEMICHEV,  
SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
CPSU, PRIOR TO MARCH 1, 1965,  
CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF NINETEEN  
CPS IN MOSCOW

~~TOP SECRET~~

Following the trip of Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin and Yuri V. Andropov, a Secretary of our Central Committee, to the Far East, we had some "new hope" on the part of some Parties but not on the part of the Communist Party of China (CPC). With the Korean Party of Labor and with the Workers Party of Vietnam we did develop a better understanding. They agreed on the amended nature of the pending conference but for obvious reasons cannot attend. These Parties did, however, agree not to publish critical material concerning this conference.

Since our main task is now to achieve unity of all Parties, this has become the guiding consideration and resulted in the changed nature of this conference.

Some Parties like the CP of Italy, however, feel that the time is not "ripe" now for a world conference. Other Parties similarly say that the time is not "ripe enough but....." So, no specific date for a possible world conference has been set forth in this draft document of the consultative conference.

Now, in regard to the position of the Italian Party. Our opinion is that conditions for a conference to establish unity will not just happen simultaneously. If we do not help create the favorable climate for such a conference, it may never be held. The process for the maturing of conditions for a conference depend on the actions of all the Parties.

If we succeed in creating more favorable conditions in the world movement, it will help. The Italian comrades do not deny that there are today more favorable conditions for a world conference than there has been in the recent past. Our main differences appear to lie in the fact that the Italians do not want to agree on a next step and issue a call for a conference, and they do not want a draft document issued by the forthcoming consultative meeting. They want only a communique to be issued. So far it has been only the Italian Party, among all of the Parties scheduled to attend the March 1st meeting, where all opinions do not coincide.

BRIEFING BY PYOTR N. DEMICHEV,  
SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
CPSU, PRIOR TO MARCH 1, 1965,  
CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF NINETEEN  
CPS IN MOSCOW

~~TOP SECRET~~

At this point one of the American observers to the March 1st meeting who was present, James E. Jackson, a member of the National Board, CP, USA, and Editor of "The Worker," an East Coast, United States, communist publication, stated "In the main, we, the CP, USA, agree with all the recommendations, steps, and stages as have been outlined to us. The draft statement we have read coincides with the viewpoint of our leadership." To this remark Demichev responded, "I am happy to hear this although I'm not surprised."

Jackson then suggested to Demichev that perhaps the March 1st meeting could issue some joint document dealing with Vietnam and the Congo. This document, Jackson felt, could be separate from the conference document. To this Demichev stated he fully appreciated the suggestion but perhaps the international movement would not appreciate the need for such a document. However, this was only his preliminary position and it might be advisable to give some further expression to this matter at a later time. Let us think it over. He then went on and stated that it might be desirable at this time to point out that the conference starting March 1st should be kept as brief as possible and should not have a crowded agenda. He stated it was important to avoid appropriating "prerogatives" for this conference in view of the very narrow limits which have been set forth for it.

At this point, another American observer to the March 1st meeting, Gilbert Green, a member of the National Board, CP, USA, stated that he understood that only the CP of Great Britain had not been in contact and it is not known if they yet plan to attend this conference. He stated it was his understanding that they were holding a special meeting of their National Committee to decide if anyone was coming. He further noted that he had been informed that John Gollan, General Secretary of the CP of Great Britain, had indicated that he would not attend but would send someone else if they did participate. Green then inquired

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CPSU, PRIOR TO MARCH 1, 1965,  
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CPS IN MOSCOW

~~TOP SECRET~~

as to what effect the failure of the British Party to attend might have. Demichev responded to Green and continued his other remarks, the essence of which was as follows:

If the British Party does not attend, we will only have 18 Parties participating in the conference but the conference will be held.

Now, as to the proposed organization of the conference. A representative of the CPSU will open the conference and extend the greetings. Each session will be chaired by a representative from a different Party with the chairman being selected alphabetically by Parties. The order of speeches has not yet been agreed upon but may be based on requests from the floor.

The Secretariat of this conference will consist of one representative from each Party delegation present. The same principle will be utilized in selecting the drafting committee chosen for drawing up conference documents. All suggestions relative to this conference, whether submitted prior thereto or from the conference floor, will be given equal consideration.

In regard to the letter and communique which have been proposed that this conference draw up, who shall receive the replies? The Polish comrades say that they should be sent to the CPSU. We in the CPSU say let the replies be sent to any CP which participates in this meeting. After the replies are received from a majority of the 81 Parties, we should then gather perhaps in October, 1965, may be in a city like Berlin or Prague, for another preparatory meeting, not the main world conference.

The October meeting should solve two basic questions. First, if the majority of the Parties decide that they want a world conference, the preparatory meeting should then fix a date; and, secondly, they should also select a drafting committee. The October meeting might also decide who else might be invited to attend. For example, Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia

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CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF NINETEEN  
CPS IN MOSCOW

~~TOP SECRET~~

has expressed a desire that Yugoslavia be permitted to send representatives to a world conference. The CPSU has already replied to Tito that we could not issue such an invitation and that the decision on such an invitation would have to be a collective decision of all participating Parties.

Why are we seeking to plan all of this future activity step by step? We must do this to guarantee equal participation by all Parties and also do it to rebuff any charge by the CPC that plans were "dictated" by one or a small group of Parties. Our step-by-step program is not only democratic but may help resolve hesitations and strengthen the unity of all the Parties. We have no illusions that the CPC will change its viewpoint or participate in this world conference. MAO Tse-tung, the Chairman of the CPC, says may be we will meet with you in ten to fifteen years and also says "We will unite when the imperialists attack us."

If there had been no split in the world movement, no one would have challenged the fact that there was a need for a conference since it had been five years since our last one. Today, imperialism has become more arrogant and aggressive. You see examples of this in the Congo, in Vietnam, and in other military ventures of the imperialists. It would be wrong if we did not try to unite our forces. Such a conference is important in order to complete the colonial revolution which will give these people the real economic and political independence to prevent new forms of enslavement. A world conference is also necessary to summarize the developments of socialist construction. In addition, there are also many theoretical, as well as tactical, problems in relation to the socialist countries as well as CPS in capitalist countries that must be resolved; for example, relations with social democrats.

Each Party cannot stew in its own juice forever. We cannot ignore all of these problems despite MAO's views. We would like to assist in developing the unity of the world Parties on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism. While

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SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
CPSU, PRIOR TO MARCH 1, 1965,  
CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF NINETEEN  
CPS IN MOSCOW

~~TOP SECRET~~

we are in no rush for such a world conference, we cannot delay for long. While we admit the documents that have been prepared may not be "perfect," we feel that their spirit is correct.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~



DIRECTOR, FBI (105-40818)

4/30/65

SAC, NEW YORK (105-14931)

NIKOLAI MIKHAILOVICH TALANOV  
IS - R (SMUN - KGB)

Re Bulet to NY dated 5/7/64, entitled, "SOLO, IS-C".

Page 2 of ReBulet instructed that "copies of communications bearing the SOLO caption may be channeled to other files which are afforded the same security as the SOLO file".

The SOLO file is maintained with the informant files in the NYO. It is felt that to efficiently correlate information on TALANOV and other Soviets who are involved or might be involved in the SOLO operation, it is necessary to channelize information under the SOLO caption which pertains to TALANOV or other Soviets to the substantive case files of these Soviets in the NYO. It is felt that it would be impractical to maintain all of these substantive Soviet case files in the area where the informant files as well as the SOLO file is maintained, particularly since all Soviet case files contain information from very sensitive Bureau informants such as [redacted] and others, as well as from NY 694-S\*.

The Bureau, therefore, is requested to authorize the NYO to continue dissemination of SOLO information to pertinent Soviet substantive case files without placing these Soviet case files into the area where the informant files of the NYO are maintained.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-428091) (SOLO)  
2 - New York  
(1 - 100-134637)

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(65) 12 198P

100-428091  
NOT RECORDED  
180 MAY 4 1965

FILED IN 105-14931

**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

Date: 5/1/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Report of J. Schleifstein, Member of Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of Germany (West), Dealing with the Political Situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and Communist Party of Germany."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/27 and 28/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RW:MDW  
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ST-108

18 MAY 4 1965

4- ENCLOSURE  
2 each to [unclear] 5/1/65

MAY 3 15 37 PM '65

REC-1  
INWApproved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

60 MAY 14 1965

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was obtained by the source during a meeting held in Moscow on 4/12/65. J. SCHLEIFSTEIN, who presented the report, the details of which are set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, had been one of the CP of Germany representatives who attended the 3/1/65 consultative meeting of the 19 CPs in Moscow.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 1, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF J. SCHLEIFSTEIN, MEMBER OF  
POLITICAL BUREAU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (WEST),  
DEALING WITH THE POLITICAL SITUATION  
IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

In late April, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In mid-April, 1965, while in Moscow, USSR, J. Schleifstein, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Germany (West), met with a number of individuals for the purpose of briefing them on the current political situation in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and on the CP of Germany. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

At the present time there are three main political parties in the FRG; namely, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Elections are now scheduled to be held this September and the position of the SDP in regard to winning is much better than a few years ago. At this time the Social Democrats are gaining the support of the masses due, in part, to economics, prices, rents, and partially to foreign policy questions. Many people think that the CDU has become disunited and has a weak leadership as a result of the Egypt fiasco. However, no one knows who will win this election. If the SDP does win, they will undoubtedly form some kind of a coalition for a "national government."

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1  
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100-428091-4742

ENCLOSURE

REPORT OF J. SCHLEIFSTEIN, MEMBER OF  
POLITICAL BUREAU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
CP OF GERMANY (WEST), DEALING WITH  
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND CP OF GERMANY.

~~TOP SECRET~~

The CDU really is the representative of the monopolists and their leading personalities in government are linked with the trusts. A good article on this matter appears in Issue #3 of the publication "Problems of Peace and Socialism," also known as the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement. At this time it appears that the main line of the CDU is to get their trigger finger on nuclear weapons. They want to do this either through the multi-lateral nuclear force or if they fail in this will join with DeGaulle. They will not join with DeGaulle because they like him or his line, but want revenge and need the bomb. This Party continues to raise their demands for restoration of the borders of 1937 and continue to call the German Democratic Republic (GDR) "only a rebellious province." In our opinion, the West German Government is the strongest military power on the continent. Its conventional weapons are stronger than those of France and Great Britain combined. They are not, however, stronger than the Warsaw powers.

One of the greatest present dangers is that the "adventures" of the West German revengists will draw in the United States, Great Britain, and others. If this happens, there is danger of war. These adventures of the West German Government, in the form of "constant provocations," are best illustrated by the recent meeting of the Bundestag in Berlin.

In regard to the SDP, it is more right wing than the British Labor Party. It maintains a bipartisan foreign policy or "a common policy" in regard to armaments and on the question of the borders of 1937. As a Party, it is anti-communist and nationalist. Because of some of its reactionary policies, it is very difficult for progressives to unite with it. However, there is not a unanimous opinion on the policy of the SDP, but at the present time it is the prevailing policy. Many in the rank and file are not in favor of this policy.

REPORT OF J. SCHLEIFSTEIN, MEMBER OF  
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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND CP OF GERMANY

~~TOP SECRET~~

In the trade unions, however, the situation is now different. In the old days the trade unions used to take a position to the right of the SDP but now they have moved to the left. While the trade unions are led politically by the SDP, there are many inside the trade unions who, even on political questions, are against the SDP leadership. One such political question where the trade unions were in disagreement was the recent "emergency laws". The CDU pushed for these laws and needed a two-third's vote and got it only with the help of the SDP.

We recognize a growing left wing in the trade union movement. In the past we might have called it only "reformist" but now we look at it objectively and see that there is a class line full of changes for the monopolies. Recently, the trade union movement put forward a call for nationalization of industry but the SDP leaders were against it. The CP accepts these proposals and is organizing active support for them. There have now become movements and fighting demands for this program.

Our CP points out to the trade unions that their main line is not represented in parliament and that only monopoly capital is. We are suggesting that the trade unions demand representation in parliament and that trade unions seek to influence representatives already there. In the FRG there are twenty-five million employed persons. Seventy-five to eighty percent belong to the working class and office employees. Six million of these persons are organized in the trade union.

The basic strength in the left-wing trade union movement lies in the metal, mining, and building industries, and they have good contacts with the SDP. This is particularly true in regard to the metal industry where one million of the workers are connected with trade unions. Most of the CP cadre are active in the lower union levels and as stewards. The main task of the CP is in the shops. The trade unions in general have no rules requiring the expulsion of communists although there are restrictions. We have had few expulsions in the trade unions.

REPORT OF J. SCHLEIFSTEIN, MEMBER OF  
POLITICAL BUREAU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
CP OF GERMANY (WEST), DEALING WITH  
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND CP OF GERMANY

TOP SECRET

We in the CP of Germany had made the mistake in overestimating illegality, a duplication of an old experience. Now, in the recent past, we have begun recruiting members. Last year, for example, we had five to six thousand new recruits. Most of our work is now being done legally although our Party is illegal. One major problem we have is how far they will let us go.

Our Party publishes three papers illegally. One of these is "Free People," our central organ of eight pages which appears once a month. Another is a theoretical journal known as "Knowledge and Action" which is a bimonthly. About 5,000 copies of these are distributed within the Party. We also have a number of factory papers issued by factory groups in the name of the CP.

In regard to legal journals and papers, we have approximately ten weekly publications in such places as Hamburg, Rhineland, etc. These working class papers, while not centralized, do put forward the basic CP policy without so saying. The police know that they are CP editions. In Hamburg the paper has a circulation of approximately 20,000, and the total circulation of the ten such weeklies may accumulate to 100,000. In addition to the above ten papers, there are two progressive papers, "German Peoples Paper" and "The Other Paper" which are published in Dusseldorf and Hamburg, respectively. They are former SDP papers and have a bigger and broader circulation. There are also two legal "socialist magazines" published by left-wing factions in the SDP. One which is published in Hamburg is known as the "Socialist Review" and the other published in Frankfurt am Main is called "Marxist Papers." Both are political, theoretical journals.

Now, as to how our Party works. Since we are illegal, we have only a few who are our leaders. Usually, they are in an illegal status or are working in various legal occupations. Our groups meet but not as CP groups, rather as study groups. They maintain no CP material.

REPORT OF J. SCHLEIFSTEIN, MEMBER OF  
POLITICAL BUREAU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
CP OF GERMANY (WEST), DEALING WITH  
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND CP OF GERMANY

~~TOP SECRET~~

Dues are on the upswing but we retain no books, records, etc. We also maintain a solidarity fund for defense work and for families of political prisoners.

In regard to youth, they work in the peace movement and the CP influence is strong. In the universities we have active groups, but their influence is narrow.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~



**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

Date: 4/30/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Analysis of Plans and Motives of Peoples Republic of China in Southeast Asia."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 2/26, '27 and 28/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was obtained by the source in Moscow, USSR, on 2/28/65. The information was furnished by VITALY G. KORIANOV, Chief Deputy, International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union, in a meeting which was called between CG 5824-S\*, GILBERT GREEN, member of the National Board, CP, USA, and KORIANOV, for the

③ - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)

1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM) 18 MAY 4 1965

1 - Chicago

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Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 14 1965

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CG 134-46 Sub B

specific purpose of attempting to have KORIANOV persuade GREEN of the correctness of the Soviet policy as opposed to the policy of the CP of China. The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum is the substance of KORIANOV's efforts to so persuade GREEN.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

APR 3 15 37 PM '82

NOV 11 1981



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.  
April 30, 1965

TOP SECRET

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

During April, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During late February, 1965, a highly placed source in the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union presented an analysis of the plans and motives of the Peoples Republic of China and the CP of China for their present and future activities in Southeast Asia. This analysis developed along the following lines:

The rulers of the United States of America are "in a bag" in Vietnam and now they don't know how to get out. Leading personalities in the United States now realize that the war in South Vietnam has been lost, but there are adventurers in the United States who want the war escalated. At the same time realists in the United States are looking for a way out.

Of course the situation in Southeast Asia is aggravated and complicated by the Chinese leaders in this area. It is obvious that the Chinese have a far-reaching plan for this area. In actuality, in practical life, the plans of the Chinese and the plans of the ultra-right in the United States coincide. The ultra-right in the United States wants to continue a hot bed of cold war in order to fan the flames of international tensions whenever necessary. Peking wants to do the same. Objectively speaking, these elements interfere with the peaceful relaxation of tensions. Peking is using Indonesia and Vietnam for this end.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1  
Excluded from  
automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-428091-4743

ENCLOSURE

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Obviously the real aggressor in this area is the United States of America, but objectively the interference of the Chinese continues to help the United States to broaden the conflict in Vietnam. The notorious interview which took place between Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the CP of China, and Edgar Snow, the writer, proves this. Mao says that China will commit its troops into the conflict when the United States starts overt aggression against China. In reality he is asking for the invasion of Vietnam. What it means objectively is that he is saying, "We won't interfere."

The Vietnamese people are now beginning to understand this and are coming to realize that the Soviet Union is the only one who gives them aid. The Peking "speculators" are distorting our role in this situation. In point of fact our actions have been the reverse of what the Chinese say they are. Perhaps the one sided statements of former Chairman Nikita S. Khrushchev led to this idea. Khrushchev would emphasize peaceful coexistence between states but what Lenin had in mind when he spoke of peaceful coexistence was to prevent states like the United States from unleashing world war.

But there is another side to peaceful coexistence and that is the class struggle. We do not isolate one side from the other. This means that peaceful coexistence creates the most favorable conditions for the national liberations movement and anti-imperialist struggles. The truth of the matter is that while trying to prevent world war, we have never stopped waging wars of liberation. There is hardly a corner of the globe where Soviet armaments are not helping wars of liberation. For example, Cuba is the best armed country in Latin America. In Cuba there is a joke going around that the island is sinking into the sea from the weight of armaments sent there from the Soviet Union. In Vietnam 22 United States planes were shot down with the help of radar and guns provided by the Soviet Union. The Chinese did not provide this assistance because they haven't got it. Now Vietnam will get more and better armaments.

~~TOP SECRET~~

**ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

**TOP SECRET**

In relation to the liberation movement in the Congo, assistance is streaming to the insurgents through various routes such as the United Arab Republic, Ghana, and other countries. Angola is getting aid from South Africa and others. At the present time the situation in Brazzaville is very tense. They are preparing to defend against a plot in which the United States Central Intelligence Agency has a hand. The insurgents have asked for help and in response we are opening a direct route for such assistance from Moscow to Brazzaville.

Is this appeasement and conciliation of imperialism? Is this contrary to the policy of peaceful coexistence? The answer is no. It holds imperialism by the neck with one hand and with the other hand helps the masses of the people against imperialism.

But exactly what did the Chinese do for Vietnam? They held a big mass meeting. But a big mass meeting alone does not help Vietnam against air raids. To be sure, the Chinese marched their troops to the border of North Vietnam, but after Mao's statement to Edgar Snow, we can see that Mao had another aim. It is interesting to compare the phrases of the United States Government with those of the Chinese. The United States talks peace and practices aggression; the Chinese shout and give lip service to revolutionary phrases but practice something else. Obviously the Cuban comrades have now become aware of this Chinese practice of merely paying lip service instead of actual deeds. Prior to this the Cuban comrades have been in the middle of the road, that is somewhat undecided regarding the March 1, 1965, consultative meeting, but now the Cuban comrades are here to attend the meeting. They have made their choice which is to join with the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Fidel Castro predicted that there would be a nervous reaction from the Chinese as a result of this choice but he doesn't care or worry about it. The Vietnam situation has opened the eyes of the Cubans regarding the Chinese, they paid a big price for just revolutionary phrases.

**TOP SECRET**

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

During this acute world crisis things have become clearer. Indonesia clearly shows the essence of Chinese politics. Indonesia is a young nationalist state. What should be the tasks of communists in such a case? The task should be to help the young inexperienced comrades to fight for the correct path in foreign policy. Indonesia's President Sukarno is a nationalist, which of course is natural. Therefore, communists should help to switch him from nationalism to the progressive rails for his nation. The duty would be to gradually change Indonesia from a policy of nationalism to a policy of internationalism. The Chinese are doing just the opposite; they are urging the Indonesians to fight in Malaysia. Now, we are well aware that Malaysia is a product of imperialism and there are various forms of struggle, but at this stage war between these two states would not help. China has promised Indonesia two million soldiers (of course the Chinese never talk of less than one million) but this would not help. A North Korean delegation which went to Indonesia announced that all the people there have signed up for the war against Malaysia. Even the wives of ministers in Indonesia are also getting military training! Seriously speaking, the Chinese are pushing for a military clash between these two countries and thus prevent the political resolution of the Malaysia problem.

Chen Yi (Foreign Minister of the Peoples Republic of China and member of the Political Bureau of the CP of China) proposed many months ago that Indonesia should leave the United Nations. We communists do not praise the United Nations because we know its weaknesses, but the United Nations organization is an instrument for the preservation of peace. The Indonesian decision to leave the United Nations is one effort of the Chinese to destroy the United Nations. The Chinese have a reason for this. We understand them but at the same time we know the real attitude of China toward the United Nations.

TOP SECRET

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

More than ten years ago, Mao stated, "We do not want to join the United Nations. It is good that the United States keeps us out and we would like this attitude to continue for another ten or twelve years. The longer the United States keeps us out the more possibilities we have for exposing United States imperialism." This is their formula: "The worse the better." Their attitude is: "Perhaps it was not good that Hitler invaded the USSR, but after the defeat of Hitler many new socialist states came to power." They hold the same feeling in regard to France where Charles De Gaulle is in power - "The worse, the better." Their attitude toward Nehru's India is the same - the further the government of India moves to the right, the quicker the people of India will move to socialism. In a similar manner the Chinese view the United Nations. The Chinese view the Indonesians' withdrawal from the United Nations as leading to the destruction of the United Nations.

But we can say that this is also a step contrary to the policy of peaceful coexistence. After all the United Nations is changing, the young nations are voting with the nations of the socialist camp; the basic policy of these states is aligned with the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese do not like this.

Now the Chinese want a "New Revolutionary UN." Chou En-lai (Premier of the Peoples Republic of China and member of the Political Bureau of the CP of China) raises the slogan of a "New Revolutionary UN" which stinks of nationalism and racism. The Chinese embrace the concept of the three A's: Asia, Africa and Latin America. They contend that the black-yellow and white races will never understand each other. Thus the Chinese want to divide the world into three movements: the socialist camp, the national independence movement, and the working class movement. The "New Revolutionary UN" is part of this Chinese plan. For your information, at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers in May, 1965, there will be an effort on the part of the Chinese to bring about this "New Revolutionary UN." The Chinese would like to organize

TOP SECRET

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

a structure of these two continents of Africa and Asia into an embryo revolutionary United Nations.

The Chinese persist in attempting to sidetrack new nations and to prevent peaceful coexistence. In this way they attempt to hide their great power chauvinism. The CP of China is now campaigning to convince people of the special destiny of the Chinese people. For example, the Chinese are spreading stories that a Buddhist monk discovered America; Confucius has replaced the ideas of the great French revolution. They are also saying that the American Indians trace their ancestry from the Chinese. This is all part of their program to build this ideology of great power Chinese chauvinism, to be used for world hegemony. They are attempting to begin with Asian-African hegemony. When Chou En-lai was in the Sudan he said to the Sudanese around him that he wished to remind them that 1,000 years ago the Sudanese paid tribute to the Chinese. He told them "The history of Eastern Africa was written on the porcelain of China a thousand years ago." This type of behavior and attitude can certainly not be called "internationalism."

The Chinese have taken as their main task the objective of sharpening the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States. You could quite truthfully say that they want a third world war, while they play the role of observers. The Chinese even say to their Party that if there is a third world war, the Chinese will stand on a mountain and watch two tigers in the valley destroy themselves. It is easy, therefore, to understand why they do not hesitate to talk of half of mankind being destroyed. "Humanity remains" they say but while Europeans and Americans die, the Chinese will remain.

What is happening is that the Chinese are going through the illness of nationalism. Some countries have developed immunity to this disease. Yugoslavia went through it but they feel better now. In 1956, Hungary and Poland went through it but now they are over it. But we can't say the same for the Chinese. The Chinese are not

TOP SECRET



ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

exactly the same as these others; they have a different history; their nationalism is more virile and grows in more fertile soil. When genuine Marxists-Leninists criticize the Chinese they are doing this to help the Chinese get rid of this sickness of nationalism. But a serious danger stems from this policy of the Chinese and we believe we are correct to urge patience with them. While on the one hand we can criticize them (but in a proper way), at the same time we should help them to get rid of this illness of nationalism.

The forces of imperialism use these differences between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China. Therefore, we work for unity to deprive our enemy of its best opportunities. We know that the majority of the Chinese people are opposed to this policy of nationalism but they cannot express themselves. Despite all difficulties, we will work to change this situation, but we do not underestimate the difficulties. There is no question that the Chinese have influenced the factions in the world communist movement who have waived from the true principles of Marxism-Leninism but we cannot say that the Chinese are directly responsible for the so-called "centrism" in our movement. However, the Chinese have encouraged this. The CP of the Soviet Union agrees with the statement of Gus Hall (General Secretary, CP, USA) that the spirit of internationalism is declining in the world communist movement. Therefore, it is correct to also say that we must overcome this tendency in order to achieve the recreation of internationalism in this movement.

Perhaps much of this seems contradictory. But many elements of the present position of the Chinese stems from their history, its imprint on life, their philosophy, etc. Even now China has not reached the stage of development of many of the other socialist countries. Economically, China is very backward. Some of the actions of the Chinese are explained by the state of their development. Take their concept of "socialism" in terms of economic development. For example, they say that socialism does not necessarily mean a

~~TOP SECRET~~

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

high standard of living. It is written in the Chinese press that a genuine socialist does not need good clothes, a watch in his pocket, etc. They write that the desire for such things is bourgeois ideology. This position of the Chinese is explained by their state of economy. The people still want these things. The Chinese pushed their economy into disaster after 1958 but up to then, they had had spectacular successes. We had helped them and it was our assistance which accounted for their success.

The USSR helped the Peoples Republic of China build 198 big enterprises - big steel and auto plants. 91% of the production of tractors was due to Soviet help and plants. This is also true for 88% of Chinese production of autos and 80% of metals. Up until 1960, there were 10,000 Soviet specialists assisting the Chinese in industry and transport - there were none engaged in agriculture. Therefore, there is no truth in the efforts of the Chinese to blame the USSR for the Chinese famine. The USSR trained more than 8,000 Chinese engineers. With Soviet assistance 24 war plants were completed and there are 33 still being built which were started with the assistance of the USSR. The Soviet Union equipped 33 Chinese military divisions, laid the basis for the Chinese atomic plants and they are now completing 66 industrial plants for which Soviet assistance is responsible.

The USSR does not discount the enthusiasm of the Chinese people as a factor in some of their advances. But after the "great leap forward" in 1958, the Chinese boasted that they were going to surpass first Great Britain, then the United States, and so on. It is true that they increased their production of steel, but most of it was produced in "home made" back yard furnaces and was useless. There was great quantity but no quality.

The premature collectivization of the people into communes and the failure of these communes led to the great

TOP SECRET

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

Chinese famine. They have accused the USSR of responsibility for this famine but there is no truth in this accusation. Instead of a great leap, it was a great failure. China still has not caught up with their level of 1958, and it will be another eight years before they will once again achieve the level of 1958. As a result the Chinese have had to introduce rationing which typically allows but 150 grams of meat and sugar per month.

Under these conditions the Chinese leaders are hard pressed to explain socialism. That is why the Chinese leaders had to tell the Chinese people that a high standard of living is "degeneration." But these are but temporary setbacks for the Chinese people and in time they will forget their present theories and will propagate real socialism. The realities of the economic failures of the Peoples Republic of China are due to mistakes of policy. They have now made great changes in their policy. The peoples communes have now become cooperatives. In practice the Chinese have gone back to the exercise of private trade, with private plots of land, etc. All of this had to be done to correct past mistakes.

Chinese foreign policy can be explained by the isolation of China. When the USSR proposes a policy of understanding with the United States, the Chinese promptly brand it "betrayal." But when the Peoples Republic of China negotiates with De Gaulle, they call it "socialism."

Nevertheless, in the long run the CP of the Soviet Union believes there are favorable prospects. When the cult of the personality in China changes, things in China will change. The USSR had a cult of the personality also but Stalin was of little consequence compared to the cult of the personality regarding Mao. However, sooner or later, the people will express themselves. In regard to the question of why there has been this struggle of the Chinese leaders against the intelligentsia of China, this is going

TOP SECRET

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

on because Mao says that he does not trust the present generation of leaders and is dissatisfied with the CP of China apparatus officer corps. This is evident in the fact that many leaders in the CP of China have been removed lately. Nevertheless there are some objective signs for a better future in China. It may be asked why did the Vietnamese invite USSR to send a delegation to North Vietnam. The CP of the Soviet Union used the initiative of course. A Soviet delegation was also invited to visit North Korea. Fidel Castro says that if he can feel the weight of Chinese policy at that great distance from China, he can well imagine what is felt in Vietnam and Korea. The only conclusion to draw is that the Chinese will have to revise their policy. In several countries the Chinese have created splinter Parties. In a number of existing Parties there have been splits. Ceylon is one such example where they are publicly fighting among themselves. In the opinion of the CP of the Soviet Union the Chinese have reached their limit in their creation of new Parties.

There is a very good reason why the Chinese are afraid of a world conference of Communist and Workers Parties which they have been opposing. The reason is that they are afraid of the future. However, they will revise their attitude. If this present CP of China leadership won't, a new leader in the CP of China will. The current CP of China policies are pregnant with failure. In the long run, if we pursue a flexible policy we will bend the Chinese to our viewpoint.

In an effort to change the objective circumstances in China we told the CP of China in 1960 that if they wanted our specialists to return to China we were willing to send them back. However, the Chinese refused to create favorable conditions for the return of our specialists.

The USSR is constantly striving to improve the standard of living in order to go forward to the next stage which is communism. The question may be asked how the Chinese can do the same for seven hundred million people.

TOP SECRET

ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES  
OF PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TOP SECRET

No one denies the great difficulties facing the Chinese, but these difficulties have been vastly increased by the mistakes in policy previously referred to. The Chinese say that the CP of the Soviet Union is bourgeois because it has raised the standard of living of the people of the USSR and say that this is a symbol of the degeneration of the CP of the Soviet Union. What it boils down to is this: Suppose one was to tell the workers of the United States of America that socialism means poverty. Who would join the revolution?

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

TOP SECRET

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/1/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO

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Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Report of Rudolfo Ghioldi, Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina, on Latin American Conference of Communist Parties, Havana, Cuba, and Results of Conference Delegation's Visit to USSR and Peoples Republic of China."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26, 28, and 29/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "TOP SECRET" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago

RWH:MDK

ENCLOSURE

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ST-108

13 MAY 4 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 3 1965

Agent in Charge

5-16-65

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was obtained by the source during the course of a meeting held on 2/28/65 with RUDOLFO GHIOLDI of the CP of Argentina. In addition to the source, HYMAN LUMER, JAMES JACKSON, and GILBERT GREEN, all leading members of the CP, USA, who were then in Moscow for the purpose of attending the 3/1/65 consultative meeting, were also present. The meeting was held for the purpose of briefing the CP, USA on the current situation in Latin American CPs.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.

APR 3 15 37 AM '67

COMMINT DIA  
SECURITY - 2 -



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 1, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER OF CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA, ON  
LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE DELE-  
GATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA

*Cuba*  
*Russia*  
*China*

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

In late February, 1965, a report was presented by Rudolfo Ghioldi, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Argentina, concerning the Latin American Conference of CPs which had taken place in Havana, Cuba, during November, 1964, and the results of a visit by the Conference's delegation to the USSR and Peoples Republic of China. The essence of Ghioldi's remarks at this time was as follows:

Many Latin American CPs, including those in Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, etc., had urged the calling of this Conference of Latin American CPs. The need for such a meeting had arisen because of bad relations which had been developing over a period of time between certain Latin American CPs and the Cubans. Some Cuban comrades had been actively pushing for guerrilla warfare in a number of Latin American countries which, in one instance, had resulted in the CP of Peru breaking off relations with the Cubans over this issue. However, because of Fidel Castro's frank and honest approach to such problems and with the help of the CP of the Soviet Union, this meeting was made possible.

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Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-428091-4744

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REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ARGENTINA,  
ON LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CPS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE  
DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Primarily, the Havana Conference was an exchange of opinions and experiences of the various Party leaders, but such exchanges were not on a Party-by-Party basis. In addition, there were other points discussed and taken up such as the tactics and the question of solidarity with Cuba and the solidarity of the world communist movement. The Conference was opened by Fidel Castro, himself, and the first speaker was Comrade Victorio Codovilla of Argentina. Fidel had personally wanted Codovilla to be the first speaker because he was the oldest comrade present.

The meeting resulted in a good exchange of ideas. The use of every form for struggle in Latin America--legal, illegal, armed, peaceful, parliamentary, etc.--were discussed as they applied to Latin America. It was decided that the tactics and the organizational forms which were to be used in Latin America were important to all Parties and, in particular, especially important to our Cuban comrades. At the start of the Conference Fidel Castro thought that armed struggle was the only way for Latin America, but subsequently he became self-critical. He said that the Cuban Party had intervened in the affairs of certain Latin American Parties with "good intentions." He agreed, however, that hereafter they would not intervene in other Parties' affairs. This was a great thing that Fidel did. It was good for the Cuban Party and would strengthen the unity of all Latin American Parties. As a result, the relations of all Latin American Parties, including Cuba, are excellent.

The principal resolution resulting from this Conference was the one calling for the solidarity of all Latin American CPs with Cuba. On this matter, it was decided that a conference would be called in Montevideo, Uruguay, at the end of May or June, 1965, to stress this matter of solidarity.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ARGENTINA,  
ON LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CPS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE  
DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

TOP SECRET

The problem of unity in the world communist movement was also the subject matter of considerable discussion at the Conference. It was pointed out that the Chinese were active in Latin America and engaged in splitting activities. From these splitting activities, there had already resulted the formation of three pro-Chinese Parties and the existence of these Parties was causing confusion.

The Conference also condemned the use of public polemics over differences within the world movement and the utilization of factional activities by any Party. It was, therefore, decided that they should send a delegation to talk to both the leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China on these matters. This delegation was chosen and sent to Moscow and Peking in December, 1964. In this delegation, in addition to myself, were the following:

~~Carlos Rafael Rodriguez~~  
Member of the Directorate of the  
United Party of the Socialist  
Revolution (PURS) and a Minister  
of the Cuban Government

*Cuba*  
*Russia*  
*China*

~~L. Motta~~

a leading member of the Brazilian CP

*- Brazil*

~~(First name unknown) Monseira (phonetic)~~  
a member of the Political Bureau, CP  
of Venezuela

~~Manuel Valverde Mora~~  
Head of the CP of Costa Rica

~~Gilberto Vieira~~  
a member of the Central Committee of  
the CP of Colombia

~~Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo~~  
First Secretary, CP of Mexico

REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ARGENTINA,  
ON LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CPS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE  
DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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~~TOP SECRET~~

In Moscow our delegation spoke to such CP leaders as First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev; Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin; Nikolai V. Podgorny; Mikhail A. Suslov; Yuri V. Andropov; and, Boris N. Ponomarev, all of whom hold positions as Secretaries of the CP of the Soviet Union. We explained to them the position and feelings developed at our Conference in Havana on various matters and they were most cooperative. They said they would sign the Havana resolution drawn up at our Conference which stressed the need for solidarity with Cuba and the settling of differences among the various CPs.

The CP of the Soviet Union comrades then told us about the discussions they had with the CP of China representatives when they came to Moscow for the November 7th celebration. They said they got no results from these meetings because of the belligerence of the CP of China. CHOU En-lai, Premier of the Peoples Republic of China, who was the main CP of China representative, stated they had come to Moscow not to discuss but to find out if Khrushchevism was out. When the CP of the Soviet Union leaders told him that the line was the same, he said that the CP of the Soviet Union had not changed and that they now had "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev." I repeat that the CP of the Soviet Union told us that the CP of China response was that there was nothing to discuss.

We learned also from these Russian leaders that Brezhnev was going to publish a response to the Chinese based on their meetings in November. However, the Latin American comrades requested that any response be postponed until the Latin American delegation made its visit to Peking. They agreed to this.

We then went to Peking. We held three conferences there with the Political Bureau of the CP of China. Comrade LIU Shao-chi, who is President of the Peoples Republic of China and Assistant Chairman of the Central Committee, CP of China, presided over two of these meetings, and MAO Tse-tung,

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ARGENTINA,  
ON LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CPS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE  
DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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~~TOP SECRET~~

First Secretary, CP of China, was present and presided at one. At these meetings we read to the Chinese the documents which had been drawn up and approved by our Havana Conference.

LIU Shao-chi, in speaking for the CP of China, outlined their point of view. He noted that they had been attacked and had to polemicize and answer. He remarked there were "serious principled differences" existing between the CP of the Soviet Union and themselves and until these were resolved, polemics could not cease. At first, according to LIU Shao-chi, they had felt that polemics might hurt the various Parties, but now they knew they would not. In fact, he said, continued polemics have positive results and are a good move.

When LIU Shao-chi was asked "When will you stop polemics?", his answer was "When Khrushchevism as well as the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CP of the Soviet Union are repudiated." As far as the Latin American Parties are concerned, LIU Shao-chi stated that polemics against them will only stop when these Parties also repudiate their attacks against the CP of China.

On the subject of splitting of Parties, LIU Shao-chi remarked that this cannot be stopped and that the new groups are the real "Marxists-Leninists." If the real Marxists-Leninists are expelled from existing Parties, he noted, it is necessary for them to form some new "true Marxist-Leninist Parties."

We attempted to explain to LIU Shao-chi that most of the "Marxists-Leninists" of whom he spoke were opportunists, Trotskyists, CIA agents, etc. His response was this may be true, but among these are good people, too, who are "real Marxists-Leninists." As to the need for an international conference of all CPs, the Chinese said there was no need for this. Here ended the official conference.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ARGENTINA,  
ON LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CPS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE  
DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

The next day, in Peking, MAO Tse-tung asked for another meeting which all of us felt was a hopeful sign, but this meeting was a disappointment. This meeting started calmly but ended in "hysteria." MAO criticized the Havana resolution by calling it "centrist" and criticized Fidel and condemned him for his recent treaty with Moscow. He went on to state that polemics will continue if necessary for 10,000 years. He then asked, "Why are you afraid of polemics unless you know we are right." MAO insulted us and said we had been sent to Peking by the revisionists. We told him we were sent by our Conference of 22 Latin American CPs and his remark evoked an energetic protest from us.

Following our trip to Moscow and Peking, we drew up a statement but we have not as yet published it. We have sent a summary of information on our visit to the various Latin American Parties. We informed the Parties that the CP of the Soviet Union had signed the resolution of our Havana Conference and that the CP of China turned down the resolution and contact with the Latin American Parties. The committee of nine which had gone to Moscow and Peking met during the week of February 21, 1965, in Havana to prepare a summary of our work. Our meeting was very cordial and the Cuban comrades decided to help prepare us for the March 1st consultative conference of the 19 CPs in Moscow. The Cuban comrades pointed out that this forthcoming conference was of great importance for Latin America. They also emphasized the importance of Premier Kosygin's recent visit to Vietnam to the Cuban Party. The Cuban comrades then made certain proposals which they urged we support for inclusion in the draft document to be drawn up for the meeting of March 1st. These were:

- 1) That an international conference of CPs be held;
- 2) that more stress be placed on support for the national liberation movement;
- 3) that there be included a statement on Vietnam; and,
- 4) that there be stress on independence of each CP.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, MEMBER,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF ARGENTINA,  
ON LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CPS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, AND RESULTS OF CONFERENCE  
DELEGATION'S VISIT TO USSR AND PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

~~TOP SECRET~~

They asked for our opinions on these suggestions and we nine decided to support these proposals for inclusion in the draft. We now have been informed that the CP of the Soviet Union had favorably considered our proposals, according to Raul Castro who had met with them.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4-27-65

Attached teletype reports highlights of information obtained by CG 5824-S\* who was on Solo Mission 18 to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany during the period 2-19-65 to 4-26-65. Upon receipt of full details, dissemination will be made to the White House, Attorney General, Secretary of State and Director of Central Intelligence Agency under a "~~Top Secret~~" classification.

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*Expedite*  
*particular*  
*W. H.*  
*KS*

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# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 4, 1965

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. R. Putnam

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Communist Party, USA, International Relations," was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, and is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The enclosed memorandum relates to the reaction of the Communist Party, USA, to the resolutions adopted at the March 1 through March 5, 1965, meeting of the communist parties in Moscow, Russia.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication and its enclosure are classified "Top Secret." This information is also being furnished to the President.

Enclosure

100-428091

1 The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

## NOTE:

Classified "Top Secret" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. NY 694-S\* referred to as "sources" to further protect his identity. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

RCP: Dah

(9)

MAILED 2

MAY 4 1965

COMM-FBI

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 6 1965 TELETYPE UNIT ☐



~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. R. Putnam

May 4, 1965

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**  
**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The Communist Party, USA, has advised the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that it agrees completely with the resolutions adopted at the meeting of "communist and workers" parties held in Moscow, Russia, March 1 through March 5, 1965. In addition, the Communist Party, USA, indicated it particularly welcomed support for the people of Vietnam in their "heroic struggle against American imperialism" which serves to strengthen the Communist Party, USA, in its fight against this "aggressive policy."

The Communist Party, USA, described American aggression in Vietnam as "a most shameful, barbarous and dangerous act" encouraged by disunity in the international communist movement. It believes unified communist opposition, together with unprecedented mass protests of the American people can reverse this policy.

Agreeing that things uniting communist parties are stronger than those driving them apart, The Communist Party, USA, urged all possible means, including international meetings, be utilized to solve common problems within the international communist movement. It believes a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 communist parties which participated in the 1960 meeting in Moscow, Russia, should be held as soon as conditions permit since consolidation of the world communist movement is of primary importance.

The Communist Party, USA, advised it will work to strengthen international communist solidarity by debating questions of difference with other communist parties without attacking them or engaging in public polemics.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

RCP:pah  
(9) *fah*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

*WYB*  
*CB*  
(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

*sw*  
100-428091-4745  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 6949S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. NY 694-S\* referred to as "sources" to further protect his identity. Information extracted from NYairtel 4/29/65 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C." Dissemination being made to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 27 1965  
TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

7-25PM EDT URGENT 4-27-65 MFR  
TO DIRECTOR, FBI --13--/100-428091/

--- ENCODED ---

FROM NEW YORK /100-134637/ 5P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST  
SOLO, 115 DASH C

CHICAGO  
68 FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S \*  
FOUR TWO SIX INSTANT WITH CHICAGO SIX SIX FIVE THREE DASH S FROM EIGHTEENTH

SOLO MISSION WHICH BEGAN FEBRUARY ONE NINE LAST.

DURING TRIP SOURCE VISITED MOSCOW, USSR, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. ATTENDED MARCH ONE MEETING OF CONSULTATIVE BODY OF NINETEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES FOR PREPARATION FOR MEETING OF WORLD PARTIES AND HELD NUMEROUS SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH LEADERS OF MANY COMMUNIST PARTIES INCLUDING CPSU, COMMUNIST PARTIES OF AUSTRALIA, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, WEST GERMANY, ITALY, FRANCE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY AND UNITED PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OF CUBA. DUE TO ALMOST COMPLETE PHYSICAL EXHAUSTION DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE WAS MOST LIMITED. SOURCE CONSIDERED FOLLOWING GREATEST IMPORTANCE AMONG ITEMS LEARNED...ONE. POWER STRUGGLE IN USSR LEADERSHIP. DURING WEEK OF APRIL TWELVE LAST SOURCE LEARNED FROM SEVERAL SOURCES INCLUDING TIMUR TIMOFEEV, MR. W.H.

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

END PAGE ONE

7 MAY 5 1965

65 MAY 14 1965

REC-3410-1-428091-4746

PAGE TWO

*AFFAIRS*

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND I.I. MINTZ, LEADING ACADEMICIAN IN HISTORY OF USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THAT THERE IS FIGHT FOR POWER GOING ON IN <sup>COMMUNIST PARTY Soviet Union</sup> CPSU AND QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP NOT YET FULLY DECIDED. AT THIS MOMENT LEONID I. BREZHNEV, FIRST SECRETARY/<sup>COMMUNIST PARTY Soviet Union</sup> CPSU, APPEARS TO HAVE EDGE WHICH HE ONLY ACHIEVED AT LAST PLENUM OF CCCPSU\*. BREZHNEV IS CONSIDERED AT THIS TIME AS LEADER WITH GREATEST ABILITY AND HE STILL FOLLOWS THE KHRUSHCHEV POLICY OF LIBERALIZATION DOMESTICALLY AND IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE IS STILL BUILDING AN APPARATUS AROUND HIMSELF.

HOWEVER THERE ARE VARIOUS OTHER GROUPS VYING FOR POWER AND CONCESSIONS ARE BEING MADE TO THESE GROUPS. ONE SUCH CONCESSION IS THE OPINION THAT STALIN MUST BE PARTIALLY REHABILITATED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY ISSUING SOME HISTORIC DOCUMENT GIVING STALIN CREDIT FOR POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS SUCH AS VICTORIES DURING WORLD WAR TWO.

PREMIER ALEKSEI KOSYGIN, BACKED BY THE BUREAUCRACY, REPRESENTS ANOTHER FACTION, STILL NOT THE DOMINANT GROUP WHICH ADVOCATES A RETURN TO THE PERIOD BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS OF/<sup>COMMUNIST PARTY, Soviet Union</sup> CPSU, ESSENTIALLY A PRO BACH STALINIST PERIOD. KOSYGIN IS BEING DETERRED BY RECENT REPLACEMENTS IN THE PRESIDUM OF THE <sup>COMMUNIST PARTY, Soviet Union</sup> CPSU SUCH \*CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, Soviet Union

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

AS THE ELEVATION OF KIRIL T. MAZUROV AND THE REPLACEMENT OF LEONID F. Ilichev BY PYOTR N. DEMICHEV AS HEAD OF IDEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT AND NOW CANDIDATE MEMBER OF PRESIDUM. IT IS BELIEVED THAT KOSYGIN-S TRIP TO NORTH VIETNAM WAS MERELY CAMOUFLAGE TO PERMIT HIS TWO VISITS TO PEKING WITH WHOM HE THOUGHT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO COME TO AGREEMENT. THIS TRIP WAS MADE AGAINST CONSENSUS OF MAJORITY OF PRESIDUM INCLUDING BREZHNEV. CHIEF TROUBLE COMES FROM YOUNGER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP WHO CONTROL SECURITY ORGANS SUCH AS ALEKSANDR N. SHELEPIN, SECRETARY OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, *COMMUNIST PARTY, Soviet UNION* CPSU, AND HIS SUCESSOR AS HEAD OF SECRET POLICE VLADIMIR SEMICHASTNY. ALSO SOME MEMBERS OF MILITARY ARE PUSHING FOR MORE NATION-ULIST AND ALMOST PRO STALIN POLICY DEMESTICALLY AND IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE QUESTION AMONG THE DOMINANT GROUP TODAY IS HOW TO DEMOBILIZE AND REPLACE THEM. THEY BELIEVE STEPS REVERTING TOWARD STALINIST PERIOD IS CREATING DISCORD AMONG PEOPLE ESPECIALLY YOUTH SINCE MORE MILITANT POLICY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEADS TOWARD WAR. THUS BREZHNEV-S RECENT SPEECH PROMISING MORE CONSUMER GOODS, LOWER PRICES AND HIGH PAY IS AN EFFORT TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE PEOPLE.

*COMMUNIST PARTY, Soviet UNION*  
A CONGRESS OF THE CPSU WILL BE CALLED BEFORE END OF THIS YEAR AND THIS IS WHEN PROBLEM MAY BE FINALLY SETTLED. PRESENT  
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

SHIFTING OF PEOPLE IN PARTY ORGANS IS PREPARATION TO DECIDE WHO WILL REALLY LEAD CPSU. *Communist Party, Soviet Union.*

SOURCE ADVISED ABOVE INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED IN GREATEST CONFIDENCE. THOSE WHO TALKED TO HIM PLEDGED HIM TO SECRECY WITH EXCEPTION OF GUS HALL AT RISK OF THEIR LIVES. UTMOST CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN REGARD TO ABOVE INFORMATION.

TWO. EFFECT OF VIETNAM CRISIS ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY...LEADERS OF *Communist Party, Soviet Union* CPSU-STATE GREAT PRESSURE BEING EXERTED ON SOVIET UNION BY OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO DO MORE ABOUT VIETNAM AND ARE DEMANDING DISPATCH OF SOVIET NAVAL FLEET TO PACIFIC INCLUDING MISSILE FIRING SUBMARINES AND DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH UNITED STATES TO FORCE END TO BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM. THESE COUNTRIES DO NOT ACCEPT EXCUSE THAT RED CHINA PREVENTS SHIPMENT OF LATEST WEAPONS AND NORTH VIETNAM HAS NOT ASKED FOR ~~OFF-~~ *OFFERED* ~~RED~~ SOVIET VOLUNTEERS. THEY INDICATE THEY WONDER WHETHER USSR WILL LET THEM DOWN AS VIETNAM IS BEING LET DOWN. AS RESULT IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE USSR CONCERN FOR COUNTRIES ON HER WESTERN BORDER SOVIET UNION IS NOW TAKING MORE AGGRESSIVE POSTURE SUCH AS WAS DEMONSTRATED RECENTLY IN GERMANY.

THREE. KOSYGIN DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERSHIP OF RED CHINA, NORTH VIETNAM AND NORTH KOREA..SOURCE AFFIRMED SUMMARY OF ABOVE  
END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

Communist Party, USA

COMMUNIST PARTY,  
Soviet Union

DISCUSSIONS FURNISHED VIA RADIO TO ~~OPUSA~~ BY ~~OPSU~~ AND PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED TO BUREAU BY NEW YORK TELETYPES MARCH ONE THROUGH FOUR, ONE NINE SIX FIVE. SOURCE HAS ADDITIONAL NOTES FROM STENOGRAPHIC RECORD OF THESE MEETINGS WHICH WERE READ TO HIM.

SOURCE WAS UNABLE TO FURNISH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AT THAT TIME IN VIEW OF FACT HIS NOTES WERE STILL CONCEALED ON HIS PERSON AND THAT OF <sup>chicago</sup> SIX SIX FIVE THREE DASH S AND IN VARIOUS PLACES IN LUGGAGE AND SOURCE WAS IN NO PHYSICAL CONDITIONAL TO ATTEMPT TO EXTRACT THEM. COMMENSURATE WITH SOURCE'S HEALTH DEBRIEFING WILL CONTINUE EXPEDITIOUSLY. LETTERHEAD MEMORANDA WILL FOLLOW WHEN FULL DETAILS OBTAINED. <sup>chicago</sup> / <sup>NEW YORK</sup> ~~CH~~ FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S ~~ASTERISK~~ TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED <sup>NEW YORK</sup> / <sup>NEW YORK</sup> SIX NINE FOUR DASH S ~~ASTERISK~~ FOUR TWENTYSIX TO FORESTALL DEMANDS FOR A MEETING WITH GUS HALL IN ORDER TO INSURE FURNISHING IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO BUREAU FIRST. SOURCE, <sup>NEW YORK</sup> PROCEEDED TO NEW YORK CITY APRIL TWO SEVEN FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH <sup>NEW YORK</sup> SIX NINE FOUR DASH S ~~ASTERISK~~, ADDITIONAL DEBRIEFING AND POSSIBLE MEETING WITH GUS HALL LATER THIS WEEK.

AIRMAIL COPY TO CHICAGO.

SND

WA...ALS

F B I WASH. DC

CC-MR. SULLIVAN + *Mr. Shaw*

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/30/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Remarks of Boris N. Ponomarev, Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on Communist Party of the Soviet Union Relations with Communist Party of China and Situation in Vietnam."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 28/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "TOP SECRET" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

- 1-Enc. 4378  
 ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
 (5)

REC-34

EX 105

17 MAY 5 1965

Approved: *m9/er*  
 65 MAY 24 1965  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*2 sub 2401541*

*to Chicago to Sullivan  
 5/4/65  
 1-Enc. 4378  
 ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
 1-Chicago*

*Shuss*  
*BRANT*  
*SA*

4747

TOP SECRET



CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was obtained by the source during a meeting with BORIS N. PONOMAREV, a Secretary and Head of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); V. KORIANOV, Chief Deputy to PONOMAREV; and, NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU. The foregoing represented the total number of individuals present at this meeting which was held for the purpose of bringing CG 5824-S\* current on the matters referred to. The information was furnished to him in strict confidence.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

April 30, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF BORIS N. PONOMAREV, SECRETARY,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE  
SOVIET UNION, ON COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE  
SOVIET UNION RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CHINA AND SITUATION IN VIETNAM

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

In approximately mid-April, 1965, Boris N. Ponomarev, a Secretary and Head of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), discussed matters relating to the recent consultative conference of nineteen Communist Parties held March 1, 1965, in Moscow, USSR; relations with the Communist Party of China (CPC); and, the Vietnam situation. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

The various Communist and Workers Parties throughout the world are now beginning to reply to the communique issued following the March 1, 1965, consultative meeting. At this stage, some thirty Parties have spoken out in favor of the position set forth in the communique. Many of the other Parties have been unable up to this time to hold a plenary session and, therefore, have not been able to reply. However, it is also necessary to state that the Communist Parties of China, Japan, Indochina, Albania, and New Zealand have not responded favorably and have come out against the consultative meeting and its communique. Yet, at the same time, it is most significant to report that the Korean Party of Labor; the Workers Party of Vietnam; and, the Rumanian Workers Party, though having refused to attend the March 1st meeting, have not spoken out against this meeting or communique in any form to date.

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-4747  
Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE

REMARKS OF BORIS N. PONOMAREV, SECRETARY,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU, ON CPSU RELATIONS  
WITH CPC AND SITUATION IN VIETNAM

---

~~TOP SECRET~~

As to when a possible meeting of the world Communist and Workers Parties might be held is a question still unresolved. The situation is unchanged from the time of the March 1st meeting. However, in the very near future there will be a regional meeting of European CPs which will take place under the initiative of the CP of France. This form of action is good and brings the Parties together. In addition, there will also take place in the near future a regional meeting of the Arab CPs.

Now, as to the continuing attacks of the CPC on our Party. Our Central Committee recently sent a closed letter to the membership in regard to the CPC attacks upon our Party as well as upon the international movement. In the letter we set forth full explanations of the Chinese action. We told the membership that the CPC is creating this situation so that they can attack us ideologically at will. We will not reply to their attacks and as a result eventually they will run out of material for them.

On the question of the CPC and Vietnam. The Chinese in response to our request to fly planes over their country have indicated they do not want this done. They say, "We know your plans. You want to subordinate us." They respond to us like this but forget that in 1950, during that sharp international situation, they themselves had asked us for assistance. They asked us to protect Shanghai and other of their cities from United States attack. In response to their request, we sent divisions of our air force into China. During the same period, again at their request, we trained their flyers. After the danger of attack had passed, our divisions returned to the Soviet Union and the Chinese created special medals honoring our work in defense of Shanghai and other cities. They gave these medals to our men. At that time we did not "conquer" China, and there is no danger we will do it now. We wanted their permission to fly over their country because of the distances involved between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. In order to bring in fleets of bombers and fighters, we needed a refueling stop in China. However, on both the matter of refueling stops and necessary flights over the Peoples Republic of China, they have remained adamant and

REMARKS OF BORIS N. PONOMAREV, SECRETARY,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU, ON CPSU RELATIONS  
WITH CPC AND SITUATION IN VIETNAM

~~TOP SECRET~~

refused to grant us such permission. As a result, we now only have those previously scheduled occasional flights which go to Vietnam.

We had also asked the CPC to allow us to use their railroads for the shipment of supplies to Vietnam. Finally, we did get an agreement from them to let us ship limited amounts of armaments by rail. However, they demanded and got control of such shipments of these armaments during the period of their passage through the Peoples Republic of China. So, at the present time we are getting some material through by rail but there still is delay.

The speech of President Johnson on the Vietnam situation was an effort on his part to placate the United States opposition to the war--but this he failed to do. No one will take his speech seriously, particularly when it is followed by bombings a few hours later. There is resistance to the United States efforts in Vietnam and this is growing; however, this movement must be strengthened and increased. United States soldiers are dying in Vietnam but not in the defense of the United States. At the present time does anyone actually believe that the United States is defending freedom in Vietnam.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 3, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Branigan  
1 - Mr. Shaw  
1 - Inspector Fields

Dear Mr. Watson:

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Internal and Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union," was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, and is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

The enclosed memorandum pertains to a struggle for power currently taking place within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the effect of the Vietnam crisis on Soviet foreign policy.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication and its enclosure are classified "Top Secret." This information is being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

WGS:pah

(4)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

ST-108

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 MAY 7 1965

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAY 3 2 58 PM '65

REC'D-READING ROOM

REC-34 100-428091-4748

MAY 5 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* referred to as "Sources" in order to further protect his identity. See NYtel 4/27/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security = C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC-34 445

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/29/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ROCK  
RIP  
HORN, 4

On 4/28/65, NY 694-S\* advised that on that date he transmitted to the Soviets through the secondary channel-- ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN--a number of microfilmed messages, one of which was in cipher and the others in partial code. The plain texts of the said messages are as follows:

(1) The following message was in cipher:

"CCCPSU - ~~Confidential~~

"Situation regarding money becoming more critical each day. Urgent that as much as possible be delivered. Please let me know when."

"GUS HALL"

The above refers to the fact that in recent contact with TALANOV, the informant was advised that the Soviets have available in the USA a large sum of money for transmittal to the CPUSA.

- EX 105  
REC-34
- 5- SHAW (RCA)  
8071-4749
- 30 4 MAY 5 1965
- 1 - Bureau (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
  - 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
  - 1 - NY 105-14931 - (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
  - 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb

(8)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 7 1965 Agent in Charge

Let to White House x AG  
Rep. 100-134637  
5/1/65

NY 100-134637

(2) The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU

"No time is being lost in the sending of our statement of the CPUSA on the March 1st preparatory conference which was held at Moscow. We (our National Committee) are still in plenum. As soon as finished, will hand to you the main political report for your Central Committee's reading, made by GUS HALL.

"The plenum agenda was as follows:

- (1) Report by GUS HALL on the present political situation in USA with emphasis on the role of USA imperialism.
- (2) Information report by JAMES JACKSON on preparatory conference of 3/1/65 and the adaptation of the following statement:

"STATEMENT ON THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE UNITED STATES

"We greet the holding of the consultative conference held in Moscow on March 1-5, attended by representatives of 18 Communist and Workers parties and by observers from the Communist Party of the United States, and are in full accord with its actions. We welcome its resolutions of solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggles against the armed attacks of U. S. imperialism, which strenghtens our own struggle against this policy of aggression. And we are in complete agreement with its communique on the strengthening of the world Communist movement.

"In its atmosphere of fraternity and friendship and in its unanimous adoption of the communique, the conference represents a significant step forward in the process of solidifying and



NY 100-134637

"uniting all parties in their common struggle. It builds up previous steps in this direction, notably the recent conference of Latin American parties in Havana. And in turn it is a harbinger of further advances to come.

"The growing aggressiveness of world reaction poses the need of the greatest possible unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. This is made especially clear by the stepping up of U. S. imperialist intervention in Viet Nam, the most shameful and dangerous act of aggression of all. There can be no doubt that the Johnson Administration was encouraged in this action by its hopes of disunity among Communist parties and socialist countries. And there can be no doubt that unified opposition, together with the unprecedented mass protest of the American people against this barbarous policy, can force its reversal, and thus achieve a major victory for world freedom and peace.

"The communique is correct, therefore, in taking as its point of departure the assertion that the "things that unite the Communist parties are much stronger than those that separate them at present," and that the path to overcoming present differences lies first of all in joint struggles for common goals. It is likewise correct in urging the use of all possible means of solving common problems, including bilateral and multilateral meetings and other forms of communication and exchange of views.

"We wholly agree on the value, toward this end, of international meetings conducted on the basis of full equality and independence of each party, and with the statement that an active and all-round preparation of a new international meeting and its conducting at a suitable time is in the interests of the international Communist movement." This accords with the position taken by our party on previous occasions. Further, we support the idea that for the discussion of such a meeting. It is desirable as soon as conditions permit to hold a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties which participated in the 1960 meeting.

NY 100-134637

"On our part, we shall work to cement our fraternal ties with other parties in all possible ways, to develop exchanges of views and discussions of common problems, and to strengthen international solidarity to the utmost, while we shall continue to debate questions of difference among parties. We shall refrain from public polemics and attacks on other parties.

"We consider the consolidation of the world Communist movement to be a task of primary importance. Its unity, on which is based in turn the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, is vital to the achievement of further advances in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for the freedom of oppressed peoples, for peace and peaceful coexistence, for socialism. The construction of the edifice of that unity is a long, arduous task. The consultative conference is a material contribution to its fulfillment.

"May 24, 1965"

(3) The following message was in partial code:

"KNUTI SEITANIEMI:

"CCCPSU:

"KNUTI SEITANIEMI is a veteran of World War II. He is a hero of that war and decorated four times. Also holder of the Purple Heart medal, having been wounded three times in the battle against Fascism. I would suggest he, together with ROBERT THOMPSON, attend the 20th celebration of the victory over Hitler Fascism held by the USSR Veterans Committee.

"KNUTI SEITANIEMI still has the bomb splinters in his leg. Can your surgeons ease his pain, and also perhaps straighten his walk. Medical treatment and rest will be good for my close friend, and in him you will see the dignity of our Party members. I say this with pride.

"GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

(4) The following message was in partial code:

"Can KNUTI SEITANIEMI, when he returns on his way to USA, go via Esthonia where his people are.

"GUS HALL"

(5) The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPSU

"I wish to call to your attention re ~~ROSCOE PROCTOR~~ and medical treatment regarding himself and family. In the course of their medical treatment, could you have your most outstanding ophthalmologist examine their eyes. There seems to be an hereditary in their family causing blindness--the doctors in USA cannot trace or find the cause. ROSCOE PROCTOR will call this to your attention.

*u.s.  
Russia*

"GUS HALL"